1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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balians usada, Balinese doctors possessing books on botany and medicine (*usada*).[11] In this connection mention may also be made of the prohibitions against buying the meat of animals that have died and against the use of opium.

As was said, the Tĕngananese do not farm their lands themselves. *Sawahs*, gardens, and coconut groves are almost all operated by so-called *pĕnyakaps* as sharecroppers. An exception is the *kayu naung*, which yields palm wine: a large share of the Tĕngananese occupy themselves with producing this wine. However, they must leave the making of sugar or spirits from it to persons from outside the village, since that is prohibited members of the *desa*. The consumption of palm wine is high. Mention should also be made of the production of oil from candle-nuts for household consumption and for dyeing yarns. The characteristic oil presses are to be seen standing along the main streets.

The wives and daughters of the *desa* members are forbidden to do any trading. Even day-to-day purchases at the *pasar* they have to leave to people who are not (or no longer) eligible for *desa* membership.

As regards livestock, there are various regulations restricting the keeping of cattle. No cows are allowed inside the residential *desa* (though they are permitted in the gardens), and members of the *desa* may not take care of them. On the other hand the consumption of beef is not prohibited. Buffaloes are owned only by the *desa* as a whole: they are used exclusively as offering animals, and their dung serves as medicine. Horseback riding is forbidden inside the *desa*. Every woman who is a member of the *desa* raises pigs, but the keeping of boars is a privilege of the *pasĕk*, who derives certain advantages from it. Pigs may only be sold to other members of the *desa* with the knowledge of the *desa* association. Only sick and mangy animals are permitted to be sold to the Chinese pigdealers, likewise with the consent of the *desa*. Almost all types of livestock are of importance primarily as offering animals. During the *usaba* in the fifth month (Kalima) of the Tĕngananese calendar, no less than fifty pigs are offered. Poultry are among the smaller offerings.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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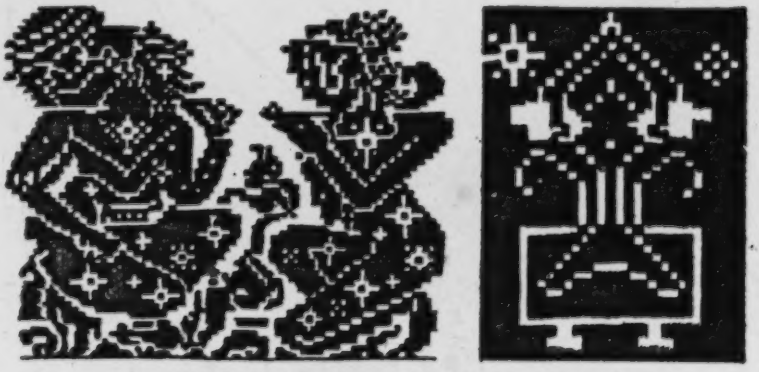
24 The Balinese also believe that human beings were sacrificed in Tenganan to make dyes for their famous ceremonial scarfs, the *kamben gringsing*,[4] a cloth that, because it is supposed to be dyed with human blood, has the power to insulate the wearer against evil vibrations and is prescribed at all important Balinese rituals. These scarfs, in which the warp is left uncut, are much in demand by the Balinese. The *kamben gringsing* is a loosely woven, narrow scarf of thick cotton with intricate designs in rich tones of rust-red, beige, and black against a yellowish background. The



Human Motifs woven on the *Kamben Gringsing*

process of dying and weaving is unbelievably long and complicated, and over five years are required from the time the cotton is prepared to the finished scarf, according to Korn. The threads are left in each of the dyes for months, macerated in kemiri oil for months to fix each colour, and then dried in the sun for months after each stage. The design is obtained by the double "ikat" process (*ikat*, "to tie"): that is, the threads of both the warp and weft are patterned previous to the weaving. To do this warp and weft are stretched on frames, and groups of threads are tightly bound with fibres at certain points before they are dipped

[4] Kamben means simply "cloth," "article of dress"; gringsing means "flaming," "mottled" like an orchid. Single *ikat*, where only the warp is "ikated," is common throughout Indonesia, and some are famous, like the large shawls from Sumba, Sumbawa, Roti, and Flores, which are highly prized; but a "double *ikat*" is extremely rare; besides those from Tenganan, others known are from Gujirat in India and simple shawls made in Zurich, Switzerland (according to Ikle).

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into the dye, so that the tied part remains uncoloured to produce the design. This is repeated with each colour, the part already dyed also protected by the fibre binding. When the threads are finally coloured and ready to be woven, the design of the weft is fitted exactly into the one on the warp, and a mistake spoils the work of years. Taking into consideration the laboriousness of the dyeing, the painstaking, difficult weaving, and the mystery that surrounds the secret process, it is easy to understand why the popular mind has endowed the *kamben gringsing* with such extraordinary powers. In Tenganan the scarfs are an essential part of ceremonial dress, and I-Tanggú told me that if he sold his he would lose his place in the village council. Only the finest scarfs are worn in Tenganan; imperfect ones or those in which the dyes fail to produce the required tones are sold to outsiders.

In North Bali, on the slopes of the Batur, above Tedjakula, is the Bali Aga village of Sembiran, where even the daily language is different from that of the rest of Bali. There, as in Tenganan, the " temple " is a group of rough stone altars surrounded by a neglected fence. It is hidden in the jungle near the edge of a deep ravine, a dangerous haunted place, where not even the people of Sembiran would venture alone. In Sembiran the dead are not buried; after washing the corpse, it is wrapped in new cloth, carried to the edge of the ravine, and deposited on a bamboo platform with offerings, consecrated water, and the belongings of the deceased. There it is left for three days; if, after that, it has not disappeared, this means that the spirits did not care to take it, so it is thrown unceremoniously into the ravine to be eaten by wild beasts.

There are many other mountain villages that have resisted the influence of Hinduism. Although not as extraordinary as Tenganan and Sembiran, they are equally conservative Bali Aga, like Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur, where the largest statue in Bali is kept, that of Ratú Gedé Pantjering Djagat, powerful patron guardian of the village. There is Taro, the home of Kbó Iwá, a fearful giant of pre-Hindu days who was so great that there

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of banana leaf over them. When finished, the leaf dishes were simply thrown to the pigs; no dishes were left to wash. A *kendih* of water was passed around after the meal, each drinking in turn and at a distance from it, letting a continuous jet of water fall into the open mouth, the lips never touching the spout. (When we tried to drink like the Balinese we succeeded only in choking or drenching ourselves.) The mouth and fingers were rinsed, and after emitting a loud belch of satisfaction the men took a nap or went to the *balé bandjar* to chat before resuming work. Generally the women ate after the men were finished, then fed the pigs, and spent the rest of the afternoon weaving, threshing rice, or simply delousing each other, a great social pastime.

For a while it seemed as if the art of hand weaving would be wrecked by the ever increasing importation of foreign cloth. Chinese silk thread was hard to obtain, aniline dyes gave brighter hues and were infinitely easier to handle than the old vegetable dyes, and Japanese ayon for a few cents a yard looked almost like real silk. In later years, however, the affluence of tourists has increased the market for Balinese handicrafts and many women derive an income from selling garish brocades. On our second visit the women of our household took to weaving and every afternoon the characteristic rhythmic sounds of many looms came from all directions.

On the Balinese loom (*prabot tennun*) the warp is stretched between a heavy wooden structure (*tjetjaga* and *pendalan*) and a sort of yoke (*épor*) shaped like a Cupid's bow held by the woman's back. After the bamboo spindle (*tunda*) has gone through the warp, the weave is tightened with a long ruler (*belida*) of polished hard wood that slides over a bamboo drum (*pengrorogan*), while the threads are separated with a bamboo tube (*bungbunggan*) provided with little bells that jingle at every move. Thus the work is made easier by the rhythmical sequence of three sounds: the tinkling of the bells, the sound of the hollow bamboo as it is struck by the ruler, and the energetic double knock to tighten the weave. Weaving is the main

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532 and "rough" (kasar) ones — devils, giants, retainers. Coarse characters have wild bulging eyes and fierce mouths full of 826 pointed teeth, their attitudes are violent, their colour dark, and 532 their bodies thick and hairy. The refined ones have long, thin arms and legs, delicate hands with curved fingers reminiscent of Indian frescoes, and their attitudes are studied and graceful. Their noses are fine and their mouths full and smiling, even in the midst of a fierce battle. They all wear elaborate clothes and jewellery of a type found only in ancient sculptures.

An important distinction is made between the eyes of men and those of women, which are always downcast — a straight line for the upper lid and a curved one for the lower lid — while the eyes of men are of the same shape but inverted, with the straight line for the lower lid, giving them a proud and inquisitive look:

Eyes, of Women, of Men, of Devils

532 Everything is restricted for the painter: his subjects, his types, his compositions, and even his colours: light ochre for the flesh [822] of refined characters and darker brown for evil ones; jewellery is yellow, costumes are either in red and blue or more rarely yellow and green. The Balinese painters use five colours: red (*barak*), ● [386] Chinese vermilion called *kentjú*; blue (*pelung*), vegetable indigo; yellow (*kuning*) made from a sort of clay called *atal*; mineral ochre (*kuning wadja*); black (*selem*), soot with vegetable juices; and white (*putíh*) from calcinated pig's bones. They can make green (*gadang*) by mixing *atal* and indigo, and brown (*tangí*) by mixing black and vermilion. These colours come in the form of stones which have to be laboriously ground together with the medium, a sort of fish-gelatine from China called *antjur*. Formerly paintings were made on hand-woven cotton cloth or on bark paper made by the Toradjas of Celebes, but today imported

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use found in every home implements of labour, simple but effective tools made of bamboo, wood, and iron, walls of split bamboo, cool mats for sleeping made of finely woven pandanus leaf, light but strong baskets and pocketbooks, and clay vessels to keep water cool. The common objects of daily requirements are beautiful in their simplicity, in the handling of elemental materials such as wood, bamboo, palm-leaf, and clay. In contrast are the lavish taste, labour, and money spent on their objects of luxury: their temples and musical instruments, their jewellery and textiles worn on ceremonial occasions, their weapons, and so forth. Their love of display often goes to extremes, as in the case of the costly towers, biers, and other accessories for the cremation of their dead, which are destroyed in a few minutes after hundreds of guilders and months of labour are spent to produce them.

I have mentioned the *gringsing* cloth, the scarfs from Tenganan, which are one of the rare examples in the world of the art of "double" *ikat* – that in which both the warp and the weft of the cloth are patterned by the elaborate process of dyeing only sections of the threads before weaving by binding them with fibres, the designs of both being made to fit afterwards when the scarf is woven. The *ikat* process is characteristic of Indonesians, although today the laborious double *ikats* are made only in Tenganan in Bali. Single *ikats* in cotton – those in which only the warp is previously patterned – are still made in Nusa Penida and in Mas, but in Klungkung they make "ikated" silks of amazingly elaborate patterns.

Klungkung is also famous for its brocades (*sungket*) in red silk with woven designs in gold and silver thread. The Balinese often decorate pieces of silk by the tie-and-dye process (*plangi*); the fabric is knotted tightly in certain places and dipped in the dyes so that when the knots are loosened, a regular pattern results, leaving uncoloured patches where the dye could not penetrate. Interesting also are the striped and chequered cloths in cotton and silk made all over the island, some of which are very

I [502 cont.]
296 identical strips next to each other, and finally the warp is
396 folded over several times in such a way that the ikat dyer can tie off several figures at the same time. If she makes a mistake, it will appear as many as four times in the finished fabric if, prior to tying off the threads, the warp was folded first lengthwise and then folded double in the width. Once the wrapping process is finished, then the thread is dyed, following a particular course, namely, from darker to light. It is to be noted that once the darker colors are dyed, they cannot be covered. All the wrappings are put on together and removed successively. Thus, when the warp is immersed in a second dye, one color is put on another. As a result, indigo, for example, retains its pure, blue tint only when it is used without other colors, and red, when it is covered with yellow, becomes a typical orange tint. Colors of secondary importance are often just touched up by hand.

What has been said above refers to the ikat dyeing of the warp, the most common process. There are various areas in the archipelago, however, where this process is applied to
S the woof. This is the case, for example, in Palembang and on
B Bali. The warp then consists of plain colored threads, and the
[286 woman must make the desired pattern with the woof threads.
386] In one single instance both warp and woof undergo the ikat process. This is the case in Tenganan, a mountain village on Bali. The most remarkable thing about this case, unique so far as is known, is that the inhabitants of this little village are the so-called Bali-aga, not Hindu Balinese, but animists. It is obvious that this process, in which the woman doing the ikat dyeing must see to it that the wrapped-off figures in both warp and woof exactly correspond, is doubly difficult.

I Besides cotton threads, palm leaves are also used for
283 weaving, [503] primarily for coarse fabrics. Agel is obtained from the young, not fully matured leaves of the gebang palm, which reaches about the same height as the coconut palm and has dark green, fan-shaped leaves from one to one and a half meters in length and breadth.